1:Baldus--SR E-6 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

621 by the missionary. There was at the time only one couple with
[169] three children, while other couples with progeny only had one or
two. When Mr. Kegel was in Tamplitsin in 1934, after the de-
parture of the oft-mentioned "20" who had not yet returned in
[161] 1935, he only saw seven houses with 113 occupants. It is to be
assumed that a few additional families were absent during the
missionary's visit that year, for in 1935 I counted 130 Tapirapé.
They were living in the seven houses seen by Mr. Kegel the
[342] previous year, and also in the so-called tahaxa [men's house] and
in another hut (marked with the letter g on the ground plan of the
village) which was not as finished as the others. The distribution
of these 130 individuals among the houses is indicated on the
ground plan of the village (Fig. 8).

● 62 The following table shows the ratios by age, sex, marital
621 status, and progeny. [Table appears here.]

[103:107] It is apparent, therefore, that at the time of this
census, made in 1935, there were 70 married individuals and 60
unmarried ones in Tamplitsin.

The 38 men between the ages of 18 and 45 included the
fathers of 30 children. The 36 women between the ages of 21 and
60 included the mothers of 32 children. These 64 men and women,
therefore, included the fathers and mothers of 62 children.

These 62 children do not include those who were cited as
[597] stepchildren or adopted offspring. It is possible, furthermore,
that they may include step- or adopted children who were not
cited as such. In this case, the number of children with a living
father or mother, which is already relatively small, would be
even smaller.

Among the couples who had issue from their current mar-
riages, there was one with three children, two with two, and five
with one child each.

There was a 45-year-old grandfather with a three-year-old
granddaughter, and a grandmother of 60 with a granddaughter who
was also three. A man of 33 said that he was the grandfather of a
girl of five who had neither father nor mother. He may have been
the brother of the girl's grandfather.

No less striking than the above figures are the following.

In the age group ranging from less than one year to 14, there
were 26 males and 28 females, that is to say, 55 individuals of both
sexes.

[Text continues on p. 49]

	MALES				FEMALES			
	Individuals	Married	Sons	Daughters	Individuals	Married	Sons	Daughters
Less than 1 year	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
1-2 years	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
3-5 years	9	—	—	—	7	—	—	—
6-10 years	7	—	—	—	11	—	—	—
11-14 years	9	—	—	—	7	6	—	—
15-17 years	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
18-20 years	9	8	—	2	6	6	—	—
21-25 years	11	10	1	4	5	5	2	2
26-30 years	5	4	1	1	9	9	4	10
31-35 years	8	7	2	5	7	6	3	2
36-40 years	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
41-45 years	2	2	1	—	2	2	2	1
46-50 years	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
56-60 years	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—
Total	69	35	6	14 (16?)	61	35	16	16

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Lahaina--30 F-5 (1836,1847)1944-1949 SP22 Tapa pd SP22

In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[103:188] The 35 Tampiitíua couples included 20 where the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "appeared to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampiitíua (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 5) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (ibid.) to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of the occupants of three other villages to Tampiitíua: there were no médicos-feiticeiros [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of pagés [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[Text continues on p. 42]

	MALES			FEMALES			
	Under 15	15 and over	Total	Under 15	15 and over	Total	Total Number of Occupants
House a	2	12	14	8	9	17	31
House b	2	4	6	3	4	7	13
House c	2	3	5	1	2	3	8
House d	1	2	3	2	3	5	8
House e	5	9	14	7	6	13	27
House f	3	4	7	1	4	5	12
House g	4	2	6	1	2	3	9
House h	2	4	6	6	2	8	14
Takasa	5	3	8	-	-	-	8
Total	26	43	69	29	32	61	130

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Bakker-41 E-6 (1939, 1947)1944-1949 SF22 Tajabad SF22

842 of years that had elapsed since my stay in Tampiitaua. He also noted that Vuanomanchi was playing the part of the boy's father. And Vuanomanchi had been my close friend in 1935.

A few weeks later, Wagley learned that the "child's spirit" is brought to the woman by a good shaman in the course of the journeys he is wont to make in his dreams. The Tapirapé were familiar with my capacity to "dream from Tampiitaua to São Paulo," that is, to make that long trip while my body was asleep in a hammock in Kamairabé's house. They did not doubt that I [123] was a great shaman. Obviously, therefore, they considered me capable of bringing children's spirits. The fact that I was regarded as the carrier of the spirit of Vuanomanchi's son must have been, first and foremost, an acknowledgement of the tie of sympathy between this Indian and myself.

845 Contrary to some other Indians, such as the Guaikuru described 842 by Sánchez Labrador (II, 30), who kill newborn twins, the Tapirapé [171] like such dual births. Husbands and wives in this Tupi tribe eat linked bananas in order to give birth to twins, preferably of opposite sex. They call both the twins and those double bananas apekunia, and this term is also used when there are three bananas within one skin. Kamairabé said with reference to such a triple banana that it consisted of one boy and two girls. The Tapirapé had never heard of a triple human birth.

In view of their behavior toward twins, it might be assumed 171 that the vagrant life of the Guaikuru led them to infanticide, while 847 the Tapirapé, as farmers tied to the soil, like to have several children and save all those who are born. The way of life of those hunting and herding Indians of the Paraguay basin contributed to their custom of killing some of the newborn babies. On the other 847 hand, it seems that the Tapirapé do not allow every child to live, either. According to what I was told, they think that it is bad for a couple to have more than three children and more than two of the same sex, and hence kill those who are in excess of these numbers. Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) confirm this, adding that the child who is to be killed is buried in a hole dug for the afterbirth inside the 162 house. As was shown in Chapter 5, in Tampiitaua in 1935 there was only one couple with three children who were issue of that same marriage, and none with more. The children were a boy [123:56]

162 of about four, a girl of about 11, and another girl of less than a year. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

171 846 We see, therefore, that the Tapirapé resemble the Karajá and Kayapó, as well as Indians of the upper Xingu basin, the Tupinambá, and other Tupi tribes, in practicing the couvade. [Ed., end of Vol. 125.]

553 [192] [124:138] In Tapirapé, herang means "nurse" and corresponds to the word héra cited by Montoya (2, II, 154) and céra by Soudelli (413). The inhabitants of Tampiitsua told me that, among them, it is the mother who gives the newborn baby a name and who [104] perforates the lower lip and ear lobes of a boy with a bone pin at dawn of the day following birth. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

557 No two or more Tapirapé ever bear the same name at the same time. I was able to discover the meaning of only a few. Animal names prevail among the women. In 1935 there was a woman over 40 years old whose name was Puranguéf, that is, "little electric eel." Another, about 35 years old, was called Tamamaf, or "great anteater" with [124:140] the addition of the diminutive i, and an old woman of about 45 had the name Anampaf, anampá being a fresh-water eel. A girl of 11 was called Chauevuyra, that is, "fresh-water ray," and another girl of six Tanchahá, the name of the white-lipped peccary. In 1947 there was a year-old girl whose name, Kaf, is that of the capuchin monkey. Among the men, I only found one in 1935 whose name I could identify with that of an animal, and it was a generic name, Vuyraf, "little bird," a somewhat humorous appellation in view of the man's thick, robust body. Other translatable names, aside from those of animals, are Kanuana, belonging to an eight-year-old girl, meaning "thunder" and "gourd rattle," and the names of two boys I knew in 1947, who were two and four years old, respectively, Yvyraf, "wind," and Ekonomfchinga, "white boy."

171 551 According to Gabriel Soares de Souza (370), the Tupinambá bore the names of "animals, fish, birds, trees, foods, weapons and various other things," according to Staden (r 1) of "forest animals," and according to Vicente de Salvador (41) of "animals, plants, or whatever chances to come before their eyes."

000 This last author also notes about those Indians that "... they do not regard killing as prowess unless they break heads, even

/406 cont./

On the campo path from the first meeting place, which was later joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried out and, when excavated in part to a depth of one meter, did not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe lives on the high campo that extends from the southern head of the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the northeast. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recognizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely, so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá, who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

[121] [122] Having been invited by Dr. Modesto Dentzini Dias da Cruz, Director of the Indian Service, to represent the São Paulo Museum and the Free School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo on the team to be organized to inspect the Indian posts and to explore certain areas of central Brazil, I imparted to him in a report dated October 21, 1947, the observations made in the course of the journey carried out during the months of June, July, and August of the same year, as well as a few suggestions on the matter. The following pages are a reproduction of this report with a few modifications and additions.

1. The Tapirapé

[162] [121] On July 19, 1947, we counted 62 inhabitants in the Tapirapé village of Tampiitíua, 50 of whom were subjected to a medical examination by my traveling companion, Dr. Haroldo Cândido de Oliveira. The following table provides the age and sex ratios:

	Male	Female	Total
5 years and under	5	3	8
from 6 to 15 years	7	3	10
from 16 to 30 years	14	17	31
over 30 years old	6	4	10
Total	32	27	59

It is to be assumed that the three who evaded the examination were boys. In addition, we found at Pôrto Velho a Tapirapé woman over 30 years old who was living among the frontier people.

In 1935, Tampiitíua had 130 inhabitants, 69 of them male and 61 female.

[166] It should be mentioned that since that time certain individuals have emigrated to Txitxutíua, another Tapirapé village located quite a distance away. Their number, however, seems to be inferior to that of persons who have moved from there to Tampiitíua. According to various [138] reports, Txitxutíua is much smaller than this village, [162] so that today the entire Tapirapé tribe probably does not exceed 100 members.

What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 20). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lalong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ration listed above underwent modifications caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitáua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 23 females.

Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occured since my first visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1936, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little carâ [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1960)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 306

by Bento Maciel Parente in 1614 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which ravaged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupi speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem, the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were savanna people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

115 Champukí was not the first person who came to mind when a contribution to this volume was considered. I thought of Gregorio Martín, a dignified and wise old Mayan Indian of Santiago Chimaltenango in Guatemala, who in 1937 had taught me the way of life of his people. I thought of Camirang, the dynamic young chieftain whom I had known in 1941 in a village of Tenetehara Indians along the Pindaré River in northeastern Brazil. I thought also of Nhunduca, a gifted and witty storyteller from a small Amazon community, who in 1948 introduced me to the rich folklore of the Amazon caboclo or peasant. But then, among all the people I had known in the various primitive and peasant cultures in which I have done ethnological research, I chose Champukwi, a man of no outstanding talent, yet talented all the same—a man of not the highest prestige in his society, yet admired by all. For the brief span of about a year he was my most intimate friend.

I knew Champukwi some 20 years ago when I lived in his small village of about 175 Tapirapé Indians in central Brazil. I must have seen him at once, for presents were distributed to the whole population on the day of my arrival in late April of 1939. But I did not distinguish Champukwi as an individual, nor did he, at first, stand out in any way from the other men of his village. His name does not appear in the notes taken during my first month among the Tapirapé.

For me, and even more for Valentim Gomes, the Brazilian frontiersman who was my companion and employee, the first weeks in the Village of the Tapirs, as the small settlement was known, were a period of grappling with a strange and often confusing world. The Tapirapé Indians lived between the Araguaia and Xingú Rivers, an area at that time almost entirely isolated from modern Brazil. They had been visited by only a few people from the "outside"—by one or two missionaries; by Herbert Baldus, a German-Brazilian anthropologist; and by a few frontiersmen from the Araguaia River. The nearest Brazilian settlement to the Village of the Tapirs was Furo de Pedra, a town of 400–500 persons that lay some 300 miles